

AcE-Bs 2012 Bangkok
ASEAN Conference on Environment-Behaviour Studies,
Bangkok, Thailand, 16-18 July 2012

Bazaar in Urban Open Space as Contain and Container Case study: *Alun-alun Lama* and Simpang Lima Semarang, Central Java, Indonesia

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Abstract

Morphology of the traditional urban open space in Semarang has been turned into commercial space. However, the activities bazaar or informal sector exist to fill the space. Explanation of the phenomenon is not affordable by the place theory from Trancik, and the dualistic theory by Geertz. What is the bazaar open space character of our city? Mixed method, historical and naturalistic methods are used as a research tool. The study's findings are: in the history of the urban open space bazaar events always fill the space. Dualistic condition between the bazaar and modern retail is complementary. Thus the square is the urban open spaces are always filled with activities bazaar.

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Keywords: Bazaar; retail; urban open space; mixed method

1. Bazaar in Urban Open Space

Bazaar activity classified as an activity within the formal sector has been present since a long time ago in various cities in Indonesia, mainly in urban open spaces or alun-alun. However, the existence has also been a dilemma in urban planning. It is seen to disrupt the formally designed face of the city. Bazaar

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activity has not earned its appropriate place in the realm of urban planning. This research is necessary in order to give briefs to city policy's planner.

Rukayah (2010) was mentioned the existence of bazaar is a root of local tradition that has been around since very early in time. This research is a continuation from that dissertation to see the connection that is formed between the bazaar activity and its place in the city space. Discovered outcome is expected to be a result that will completes the theory of content (human & society) and container (shell, network, nature) from Doxiadis, Place Theory (space with human value) and space as artefact value from Trancyk (1988). This discovery will also complement the theory of Geertz (1977), Soetomo (1988), Sarjono (2005), regarding the informal sector which within the statements has not yet declared the relationship between the activity and the space.

Bazaar activity (or *pasar* in Javanese) refers to the understanding of open space. Pasar located in the open space has been depicted in the relief of Candi Borobudur (8th century). The condition of open spaced bazaar has also been recorded in the foreign sailors' travel report when visiting Indonesia. The report that explicates the bazaar condition in details and provides sketches of open bazaar was the one made by Lodewycksz (1598). He pictured in a detailed manner about the condition of the bazaar in Karangantu Banten, the city of Moslem monarchy. From time to time in the *alun-alun* of Banten, government would hold events of Islam propaganda that were followed by bazaar activity. Such activity still exists until today in *alun-alun* of *Mataram* Islam period, such as *alun-alun* of Solo, Yogyakarta, Demak, and Cirebon. The bazaar activity was monitored by government institution (kingdom) or religious institution (mosque). In the old *alun-alun* Semarang, the activity of *Dugderan* (bazaar that holds place before fasting season or *Ramadhan*) still exists up until now, even though the physical form of the *alun-alun* has been dissolved since 1970. Along with the economic crisis that assails Indonesia in 1998, bazaar activities flourished. This phenomenon appeared in several *alun-alun* of cities in Java, with different local names even though the legality of their existence was still far from acknowledgement.

The city of Semarang can be well used to explain how bazaar phenomenon always appears in two of its urban open space, even though government policy always denies its appearance. The symptoms of bazaar in the old *alun-alun* by 1970 and in Simpang Lima by 1990-present is now a phenomenon that requires further research and needs to be read continuously considering the said phenomena also appeared in the past. Hence, we use a method to read the phenomena both in the past and in the present. The theory in outcome will not only be able to explain an event, but also predict how the symptoms should be approached by the urban planner and the government.

1.1. Research Questions

How were the bazaar phenomena in the past? How were the bazaar phenomena in the old *alun-alun* lama (1970) and Simpang Lima (1990-present)? How is the connection between bazaar and urban open space?

1.2. Research purpose

The purpose of this research is to discover knowledge about space and place or contain and container that is dug from phenomena in urban open spaces of cities of Indonesia from the past to the present.

2. Mapping Theory

The theory about place by Trancyk (1986) still emphasizes on the space configuration physically. He believes space will function as place if it were a combination from theory of figure ground and linkage.

This theory stresses that place is formed by the existence of physical configuration of a urban open space. History as a time element shapes physical and non-physical element that has a certain character to be able to survive from time to time therefore become a special characteristic of a space. Thus the theory of place is a materialization of local shapes that were pre-selected throughout the history and still exist up until now. The weakness of this theory is because the research was done in urban open spaces in western cities that were built with emphasis on physical aspect. Urban open spaces are designed as enclosure space, free from vehicle circulations and function as a common space among buildings. Unlike those of western designs, urban open spaces in our country, which are known as *alun-alun* are open (disclosed). *Alun-alun* are cosmic spaces serve as the front yard of *keraton* (dwellings of *Sultans*) and mosques (Andrisijanti, 2000). *Alun-alun* is not free from vehicles circulations. If we follow the theory above, physical configuration of *alun-alun* is not suitable to form a place. Therefore we need to examine why a disclosed urban open space of a city could pass as a place.

In regard of bazaar activity as a part of informal sector, it's beneficial to reopen Clifford Geertz's classic work about *Mojokuto*. According to Geertz, a social or cultural dynamic has happened in the society, among and between groups. He believes that the certain condition is termed with dualistic economy that was predicted as a prolonging transitional condition that may still happen until today. Geertz introduced the term hollow town to depict a town's people that are non-integrated, and are merely a combination. Geertz's study was indeed dug from the phenomena of our merchants of the 50's that were alleged of unable to create a bigger or pre-capitalist economic institution. Soetomo (1988) stated that informal sector is evolving, yet its inner character is still involving. However, in Rukayah (2010) found that the activity of informal sector besides evolving, is also revolving because it is done by the capitalist people on the urban open space of the city. Likewise, Sarjono (2005) stated that bazaar activity in Solo is acknowledged by government's policy to process in modern retail.

Series of the aforementioned researched will be read at the bazaar phenomena in the past, in the urban open space of Banten (Banten holds the most complete records regarding bazaar activity that were unfolded by foreign sailors, in former *alun-alun* Semarang during the years of 1930-1970s (a phenomenon that no other city in that periode has, where Thomas Karsteen in 1930 built a modern bazaar in *alun-alun* in order to accommodate the preexisting bazaar activity on the east side of *alun-alun*), Simpang Lima Semarang during 1990s-present (on and off bazaar phenomenon that depends on government policy).

Both of those theories, about bazaar and spatial aspect of a city, can be connected when reading about the phenomena of bazaar arrival and government policy on urban open spaces since the early years until nowadays.

3. Research Methods

Researchers inspired by Ridenour (2008) which combines two methods of research as well. The study is a theory that can be generalized and generate a new hypothesis as the basis of research, to generalize the theory. The method utilized to read the phenomenon of bazaar activity that has been present since the early years in urban open spaces of cities in Indonesia, surely requires the support of mixed methods. In accordance to the purpose of the research, then to unveil the arrival of bazaar in urban open spaces of old cities, required a method to unveil information in the past (history research method). Meanwhile, to unveil information in the present, a naturalistic research method will be used. Thus in this particular research, two methods are utilized and combined to read phenomena in the past and in the present as a mean to predict phenomena in the future.

3.1. *Historical Research Methods*

Historical interpretive research strategy, Groat, (2002) or a reinterpretation of the historical and sociological interpretation, Muhadjir, (2000) are used to make meaning of the phenomenon in the past. Historical research methods aim to reconstruct the past systematically and objectively by collecting, evaluating, verifying, and synthesizing evidences that explains the facts to gain strong conclusions.

Historical research methods done in this research is a research methods specially used in historical research through heuristic steps, which is to accumulate trails of the past connected with the topic to discuss. Sources collected in the heuristic activity are either relevant books with intertwined studies and discoveries from the field.

3.2. *Naturalistic Research Methods*

In correspondence with the purpose of the research to unveil natural symptoms that are built from recurring bazaar activity phenomena, in urban open space of Simpang Lima Semarang that is happening at the present researchers will see for themselves, the phenomena on the field in order to build a hidden natural knowledge.

Qualitative research with naturalistic approach, the design of the research is not pre-determined. However, according to Muhadjir (2000), the function of design is just as a background of knowledge. Disinterment of problems at the beginning is very general, and then focus appears to aim to specific matters. The focus of the research can still change, shift, or coned. The focus of the research is a problem that raises questions; what kind of phenomena will appear from those natural symptoms?

The conformity of theory's reference in the qualitative research with field approach does not refer to the research to test and prove a theory. Theory is used merely as a background of knowledge. Discoveries on the field can turn up any grounded concept, or model, or policy, or theory.

In the particular research, field information rolls like a snow ball. Data and information are constantly built throughout the research. This means, the purpose of sampling is to cover as much holistic contextual information as possible. In other words, sampling does not have to be representative towards the population (quantitative), but representative towards the holistic information.

Data analysis is done throughout the research and continuously done from the beginning to the end. Field data, interviews results, references, ancient news from papers are arranged systematically and properly grouped in order to gain an important discovery that seconds the questions of the research.

The examination of data validity in qualitative research includes four techniques. First, credibility, which is a criteria for a research result to be believable. For a credible result, there are seven techniques to be recommended: prolonged engagement, persistent observation, peer debriefing, negative case analysis, checking of reference sufficiency, and member checking. Second, transferability. This criterion is used to fulfill the criteria that this result done in a particular setting can be transferred to another subject with similar typology. Third, dependability. This criterion can be used to judge whether the research is qualitative or not, by examining: if researchers are cautious, does not make any conceptual mistake with the research plan, data collecting, and interpreting. The best technique to be used is dependability audit with dependant and independent auditor observing the researchers's activity. Fourth, conformability; a criterion to appraise the quality of research's result.

4. **Bazaar Activity in the Urban Open Space from the Past until Now**

Mixed method between history research method and naturalistic method are used to read phenomena in the past and present, and also the transition. To read bazaar phenomena in the past, researchers read

from various symptoms that happened in *alun-alun* in the past. The most detailed and accurate information is acquired from Banten in the past. Meanwhile, phenomena that happened in *alun-alun lama* Semarang are used as a transition between past and present. To unveil the phenomena of the present, researches will examine the urban open space of Simpang Lima, Semarang. The said field is the most recent open field that emerges research suspicion of any correlation between bazaar activity and urban open space as contain and container.

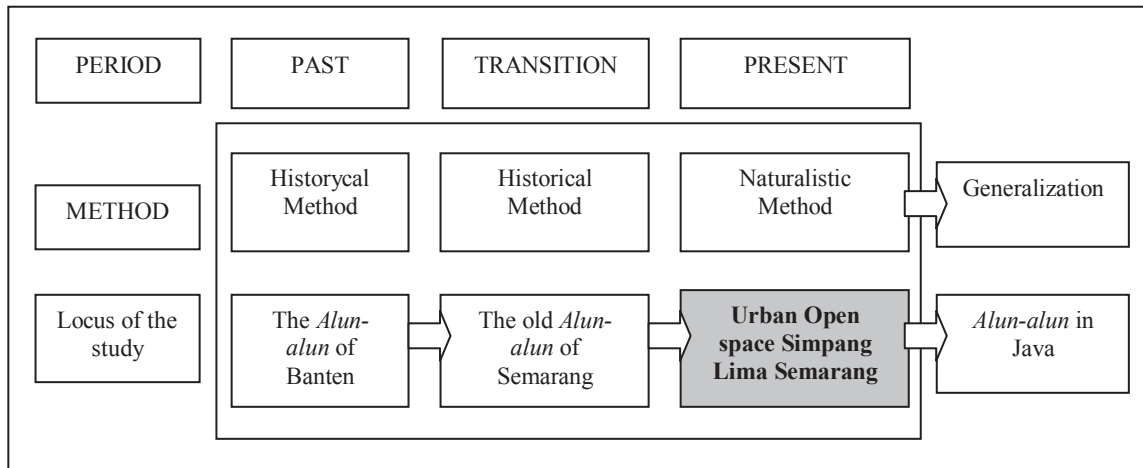


Fig. 1. The process and finding

5. Discussion and Analysis

5.1. Urban Open Space in the Past, as a Place for the Activities of Market Tradition or Pekan

The history research method is used in this research to read the phenomena of bazaar activity in the past. The data extraction of the past about bazaar activity in urban open space is done through a study of old libraries, according to travel report from ancient soldiers and some bazaar examiner. Since the end of December 2009, researchers gain benefit by the presence of charity from the biggest Archeology museum in Amsterdam, Tropenmuseum. Tropenmuseum donated around 37.071 photo collection, regarding decorations, accessories, local clothing, traditional ceremonial tools, and ancient photos from various areas and periods within the history of Indonesia. With all of that, it was particularly easy for researchers to seek data about bazaar activities and their locations in the early years.

There are not many data in the form of descriptive stories, mainly those who are required to unveil the activity of bazaars in Dutch's colonialism era. However researchers acquire several result from the painting sketches and photographs that clearly depict the condition and the location of bazaar in that time. One thing that is particularly interesting is the travel reports of sailors from Europe, like Tome Pires, Ma Huan, I Tsing, Fa Hsien, and Willem Lodewyckz, which explained about cities in the shoreline of Java around the end of the 16th century. According to their travel reports, bazaars' locations as a place of social and economical interaction of the people are placed at the centers of the cities, which were located at the mouth of the shore, in the form of urban open spaces. Such as cities of Java's north coast: *Bantam* (Banten), *Cheribon* (Cirebon), *Japara* (Jepara), *Calapa*, *Batavia*, *Jacatra* (Jakarta), *Pasauran* (Pasuruan), *Greesie* (Gresik), *Dama* (Demak). Lodewyckz (1598) said,

".....Bantam is a port in Java alongside a bazaar that operates all day long in different times and sells daily needs. It is located in the eastern side of Banten. The bazaar starts early in the morning until 09.00. This bazaar is filled with merchants from Asia. Close to the bazaar is a mosque where women buy spices from farmers, and when the bazaar finishes, it continues at the plaza where all kinds of needs can be bought. This bazaar ends at noon, but sometimes longer until afternoon. After mid-day, the third bazaar happens at the intersection of Chinatown, outside of the main city....."



Fig. 2. Bantam, a town on the northern coast of Java, Valentijn (1726); Sources: www.swaen.com/antique-map

Edmund Scott described it in less than a decade after, with an explanation that seconds Willem's argument:

".....Bantam is very popular and is the most advanced bazaar in this country with the advantage as the center of trade from various ports..."



Fig. 3. Market in Bantam (Banten); Sources: Troopenmuseum



Fig. 4. Market in Karangantu Bantam, Lodewijkcz . Source: www.efwaipi2011.blogspot.com/2011_06_01_archive.html



Fig. 5. Early map of Bantam from Willem Lodewijcksz' logbook, published by Cornelis Claesz . Sources: www.swaen.com/antique-map

Meanwhile, the market activity in the ancient urban open space is clearly illustrated in the reliefs of Borobudur O.50 series. Market place in the shade of the urban open space visible from the jackfruit tree with multiple bearers merchandise, brought fish and the woman who was tied goods (Nastiti, 2003).



Fig. 6. Market in an urban open space in the reliefs of Borobudur; Source: Nastiti, (2003)

According to Nastiti (2003), the term bazaar in Javanese is called *pkam*. *Pkam* means urban open space as bazaar that is held on the bazaar days. These activities occur once or twice a week. The function of the urban open space in any other days is for several other activities. The location of the bazaar is on strategic spaces. From the result of library studies, travel reports from sailors mentioned above, who took a tip to cities at the coast line of Indonesia, bazaar locations are close to the port or shore. These locations are easily visible by merchants or sailors that travel in seek of spices. There are assumptions that these bazaar activities are the embryo of government, which characterize cities in Java (*alun-alun*, government offices, mosques, and bazaars). These locations are also patterned to be in the northern side of the *alun-alun*. They are also foreseen as welcoming area for migrants coming from the sea or the river as vital transportation mean in that time, and also as a defense barrier for the government's central at that time.

The merriness of the bazaar is designed as a barrier from penetrating migrants before they enter *alun-alun* or the urban open space.

Rukayah (2007) stated that *alun-alun* in city sultanate does not refer to the cosmic concept, however the location of the bazaar as a center of economic activity still takes place at the same site, which is the northern side of *alun-alun*, and close to the transportation track (river).

Bazaar's location are portrayed at the Kartasura Map 1686, map of empire Demak Islam city, and map of Banten sultanate. The locations are all outside of *alun-alun*, but because they are in the form of urban open spaces, they look blended in at the maps/not strictly separated from the *alun-alun*. Hence, the definition of bazaar in Ancient Java as a wide area of ground or urban open space (Wojowasito, 1977 in Andrisijanti, 2000), is in accordance with the condition of the natural activity. As well as the condition of bazaar in Karangantu Banten (Eerste, 1646 in Andrisijanti, 2000). Meanwhile, the activity of bazaar also appeared in *alun-alun* Mataram Islam to merry the tradition of Islam propaganda that is packed in an interesting show for the people, done temporarily (*Sekaten, Grebeg, Dugderan*).

Several information in post-independence era that are acquired from ancient books about trading activity and tourism, pkan activity took place under the shade of big tress, or already made into large warehouse with impermanent grass roof, and only used as a shade from the sun. Part of the activity are mostly located in *alun-alun*.



Fig. 7. Bazaar di alun-alun Blitar 1880. Source: Tropen museum

Some of those open-spaced bazaars, by the Dutch Colonial were built into a permanent bazaar (Johar in the *alun-alun* lama Semarang, bazaar in *alun-alun* Kanoman Cirebon). There is suspicion that the development of bazaars in front of keraton or government offices are subject to Dutch Colonial to serve political purposes in overthrowing native government.

On the other hand, several bazaars in urban open spaces still exist until today. Commerce and tourism books year 1956 records several bazaars in Semarang were located in urban open space in the form of vast field, or street corridors that used to serve as an economy space for the people of Semarang. Some of these activities are still existence, but some of them are lost due to the policy of government to build permanent buildings. Even though several bazaars turn into permanent, or banned by the government,

these activities are not decreasing. In some places, even, temporary bazaar activities appear in strategic spaces around the city.



Fig. 8. Bazaar in Candi Lama Semarang, was disappear. Source: [www.djawatempodooeloe multiply.com](http://www.djawatempodooeloe.multiply.com)

5.2 Cycle of Market Activity, in Alun-alun Lama Semarang (1930-1950)

According to Roesmanto (2004), inside the second map-plan of Semarang that was made in year 1800, there was Pasjaar/Passaars of Mark Plaatsen or a yard for bazaar activity located at the east side of *alun-alun*. By the year of 1900, embryo of bazaar activities were already there, under the Johar tree. Dutch Colonial planned the creation of Pasar Johar permanently, at the east side of *alun-alun*.

The rest of the vast *alun-alun* site gave migrant merchants to trade there. The bazaar activities are known as *Pasar Yaik* that happened every night, jam-packed with visitors. The location of bazaar in *alun-alun* were a tourism destination for citizens from all over Semarang. (Petunjuk Alamat Dagang dan Touris Djawa Tengah, 1956, published by Bakoenoen Semarang)

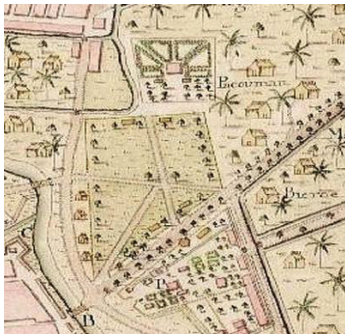
".....Kalau pada waktu siang pasar Djohar merupakan pusat berdetiknya nadi perekonomian Semarang, maka sedjak matahari menjembunjikan diri di ufuk Barat, mulailah lampu-lampu petromax gemerlapan di aloon-aloon Semarang. Tanah lapang itu tertjipta mendjadi pasar. Orang menamakan pasar Ja'ik. Di sana bisa dapatkan barang apa sadja jang diinginkan, dari baju nylon sampai pada rudjak ulek. Asal tuan djangan tjari djuwawut untuk makan burung, pasti akan berhasil. Penjual obat kuat, djamu-djamu, jang mempropagandakan barang dagangannya sampai memekakan telinga sampai toekang nudjum dengan kartu atau burung gelatik dengan suaranya jang bisik2 ketika menceritakan nasib "patient" nya. Pendeknja ini speisifik boeat Semarang. Pusatnja keramaian, pasar jang terbuka. Biasanya berlangsung sampai djam 12 malam, terketjual kalau turun hudjan, dengan seketika bersamaan air yang laksana ditjurahkan dari langit, bubarlah pasar Ja'ik itu."
(trans: *".....If in the day time Pasar Djohar is the center of economic pulse of Semarang, then ever since the sun hides itself in the west horison, petromax lamps start to sparkle in the alun-alun of*

Semarang. The vast land is created into a bazaar. People call it Pasar Ja'ik. Everything you want is available there, from nylon clothes to rujak uleg. As long as you don't search for juwawut to feed the birds, you'll succeed. Tonic sellers, traditional medicines, doing earsplitting propaganda for their merchandises to the shaman with cards or whispering finch birds telling stories about their "patient". Shortly, this is speiifiek for Semarang. The center of activity, an open bazaar. Usually opens until 12 in the evening, unless it rains, then as soon as the water pours from the sky, Pasar Ja'ik scatters.”)

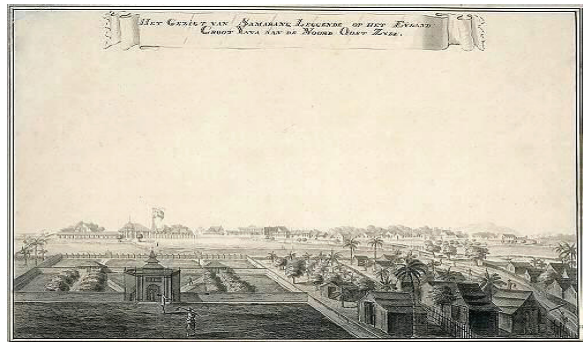
It is also the same with the traded food commodity (Picnic ke Sjurja Djawa Timur, Prana Agency Service, 1953). Semarang is known as the center of culinary feast.

“..... mulai tahu pong goreng, lumpia, kue pia. Di pasar Jaik , aloon-aloon di waktu malam rupa-rupa makananpun ada seperti djuhi panggang gepuk dimakan dengan atjar lobak, nasi langgi dengan es kelapa kopior dan sebagainya.....”.

(trans: “.....tahu pong fried foods (such as tofu), spring rolls, cakes pia. In the bazaar Jaik, the square at night, sold a variety of foods : djuhi roast, which is eaten with atjar, langgi rice, coconut ice and so on”)



(a) map of old alun-alun Semarang in 15th century



(b) old alun-alun Semarang in 17th century



(c) old alun-alun Semarang in 1930s



(d) old alun-alun Semarang in 1970s

Fig. 9. Tranformed of the Plan of Alun-alun Lama Semarang; Source: (a) ; (b) Rach, 17th, (c and d) Boomer,1995

At year 1978, association of bazaar sellers were struggling to earn a formal place to commerce. Government responded to that idea. Pasar Yaik was built permanently. The urban open space in *alun-alun* Semarang finally fully occupied. By the end of 70s decade, several shopping centers, such as Johar, Pasar Yaik Permai, Hotel Metro was built around the old *alun-alun*. However, the loss of *alun-alun* and the

space modernization caused by the entry of modern retail still raises bazaar activities within. Even some of those modern retails were inferior towards the bazaar activity.

5.3. Market Phenomenon in the New Urban Open Space: Simpang Lima Semarang

The symptoms of bazaar activity cycle in the old *alun-alun* repeat themselves in the urban open space of Simpang Lima, that was designed as a prototype of *alun-alun*. According to Sadono (1992), Soekarno designed it as an area for governmental, cultural, religious, and educational purposes that should be able to contain a million people. The composition of the prototype was characterized by the presence of mosque in the west side. The site around Simpang Lima was given signs of types of buildings that were going to be build in accordance to Soekarno's dream. On the west side (now Gajah Mada Plaza) was a plate signed museum. On the east side (now Simpang Lima Superbazaar) used to be a volley court, signed as a future shopping center, owned by public company (Sarinah). The north side was planned to be a gymnasium. The southeast of *alun-alun* was the Gajahmada cinema, which brought up the embryo of night bazaar.

Exactly one year after being built, some modern retails were developed in the area. Now after 40 years of its development, the urban open space of Simpang Lima turned its function into commercial area. Some modern retail like Simpang Lima Superbazaar (1978), Gadjahmada Plaza (1980s), Simpang Lima Plaza (1988), Citraland Mall (1993), Ramayana (2003) were built to replace the building plans that were suggested by President Soekarno. What was left is Baiturrahman Mosque as a defense crossbar that characterizes *alun-alun*.

Even though the space had been formally built, the bazaar activity as an informal sector still processed within. By the year of 1980s, several merchants appeared at the side of the field, and this activity occurred every night. These merchants sell grilled corn, chicken with rice, *pecel*, meatballs, *tahu gimbali*, and beverages. On Sundays the number of sellers increased because new sellers came in, and some of them are temporary sellers. They sell everyday necessities (clothes, pants, bags, kitchen utensils, living utensils, vegetables, plants) and foods. At that time, the number of bazaar in that area was around 127 (Sadono, 1992).

After 20 years, the number of merchants is increasing rapidly to the point of 12.000 merchants, (Suara Merdeka, March 2005). The location of the transactions is not only on the edge of the field, but on the middle too. Since the free trade era, a lot of them are selling secondhand clothes imported from Malaysia, Korea, and China. They spread or hang their merchandises as a display media. As much as 60% of bazaar in Simpang Lima nowadays is permanent bazaar from Johar that grow interest to gain money in the area (until January 2005). Based on Mayor's policy number 660.2.05/135/1990, continued with the forming of Unit Pelaksana Daerah (Area Executor Unit) that manages the Bazaar (Mayor's Policy number 511.3/367/1991), bazaar was given right to commerce just like any other business. But in early January 2005, bazaar activities were disciplined to welcome the Anniversary of Semarang. Since the disciplining, new rules were issued along with unwritten district administrator policy stating that bazaar activities were to be allowed on Saturday nights and Monday mornings. However, violation still occurred due to consumers' demands. Based on the data from Pleburan District, citizens actually objected if Simpang Lima area were to be cleansed from bazaar activities, because it is an urban open space for family recreation. Simpang Lima was one again open to public. Bazaar activities happen again in Saturday nights and Monday mornings until 07.00 a.m.



Fig.10. The on off for the activities bazaar in urban open space Simpang Lima. (from top left clockwise) Simpang Lima of the 1970s, the 1990s, 2000s when there is bazaar activity in the Sunday morning and Sunday evening; Source : Boomer,(1995) and author's documentation, (2007)

This finding completes the knowledge from Geertz (1977), Soetomo (1988), Sarjono (2005), that bazaar is not only competing and collaborating, but already merged with urban open spaces in strategic locations, as contain and container.

5.4. Symptoms in Urban Open spaces in Java

Bazaar activities nowadays have tendency to serve as migrating merchants in urban open spaces of various cities in Java with different local name like Pedagang Kaki Lima or PKL (cadger) in Semarang, similar with PK 5 in Malang; *Pasar Jongkok* or Squatting Bazaar (because buyers select the merchandise while squatting) in Jakarta; *Pasar Stress* of Stress Bazaar (because the merchants lost their formal job and commerce to relief stress) in Magelang; *misbar bazaar* (*gerimis bubar*, the bazaar scatters if rains) in former *alun-alun* of Semarang; *pasar senggol* or Brushing Bazaar (the bazaar is so packed with buyers they can't help but brush each other) in Surabaya; *Kliwonan* bazaar (people's bazaar every *Kliwon* of Javanese day) in Batang; and etcetera. These symptoms reveal phenomena that urban open space is a strategic economic space for bazaar activities.

6. Conclusion

- Bazaar phenomena and urban open space in the past are answered from the phenomena of bazaar activities in Karangantu Banten. The function of urban open space as Pkan that is full of bazaar activities already existed and recorder by foreign sailors in the era of 1959 in Banten. Their existence gain legality and the strategic location are the reasons why the space is always full with merchants.
- Bazaar phenomena on the former alun-alun (1970s) and in Simpang Lima (1990-present) are activities that repeat themselves in two different time frames. The strategic locations of both urban open spaces cause bazaars to always want to get in despite the government's prohibition. Thus, bazaar activities that disappear and reappear if permitted by the government suggest a tight relationship.
- It can be concluded that bazaar activities and urban open spaces in strategic locations are activities that cannot be separated from their containers. The symptoms of the cycle become a theory that proofs bazaar and urban open space can be compared as contain and container.

Theory Finding as New Knowledge. Bazaar activity as the contained, and urban open space as the container is a cultural phenomena that have been selected throughout the history of urban open space development in our country. The theory of bazaar as an activity that fills urban open spaces of the city is a new knowledge to complement the place theory of Trancik (1986). Trancik's theory is about place formed by physical space configuration. But the symptoms in *alun-alun* from the early years until today are evidences that the place happened not because of physical aspects, but formed by the existence of bazaar activity.

Place formed by bazaar activity in *alun-alun* used to be moved by *Keraton* and mosque. Meanwhile the place formed by bazaar activity today happens because of the collaboration between modern retail that's been done by capitalist and bazaar that was done by.

Theory Finding as a Predictor. The finding of knowledge about the relationship between bazaar activity and urban open space as contain and container is a cultural root phenomenon that has been selected throughout the history of urban open space development in our country. Thus, this knowledge is a predictor (a mean of predicting) for our urban designers and government to give spaces for bazaar activity, that are integrated with city spatial nature instead of segregated.

Policies come and go, from prohibition to permission for bazaar activities with them. In the era of 2010, the field of Simpang Lima was completely closed for bazaar activity. The replacement that was set

to be on KB Park never really came to realization. Merchants refused to be on that area. Several communities of bazaar activities still struggle to find a way to commerce in the urban open space of Simpang Lima. In 2012, local government through Dinas Pasar (Bazaar Department) is still trying to find a replacement space to contain the activity in Simpang Lima, but so far has not succeeded yet.

Acknowledgements

Authors give thanks to Allah SWT for the completion of this research and thank to:

- Office of Bazaar District of Semarang: the support of data about the activities taking place in Simpang Lima Semarang after the closure of open space from the activities of street vendors (2010-present).
- Central Java Province Tourism Office for the support of information about tourist activities handbook.
- Laboratory of Design, History and Conservation Architecture Department Diponegoro University

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